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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was (1) to portray the historical periods of the Newbury, Vermont, school system; (2) to note the growth of the district schools between 1763 and 1832; and (3) to determine what role the state played between 1777 and 1807 in the development of the Newbury school system. In terms of school governance and organization, five historical periods of the Newbury school system are described: 1763-1832, 1833-1891, 1892-1915, 1916-1960, and 1961-1988. The trends of Vermont public education have been toward more bureaucracy, consolidation, student classification, curricular differentiation (tracking), and state influence. Population statistics of Vermont (1791-1980) as well as a map of the Newbury school districts in 1988, and 33 references are appended. (SI)

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DEVELOPING A SCHOOL BUREAUCRACY:

THE INFLUENCES OF

THE STATE OF VERMONT AND THE TOWN OF NEWBURY, VERMONT,

ON

THE NEWBURY SCHOOL SYSTEM

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PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

In 1937, the former Vermont Commissioner of Education, Mason Stone, wrote:

> Centralization leads to bureaucracy and bureaucracy leads to paternalism. Bureaucracy is a system of government that seeks to perpetuate itself and to maintain control by increased appropriations and an excess of agents. Vermont is far from reaching such a condition, but in Vermont the state is well set for such and, through the ambitions or through the misdirected policies of departmental heads, a strangle-hold can easily be secured and the State thereby become enmeshed in a bureaucratic form of government (Stone, 1937, p. 340).

Just over forty years later, Arthur Wise (1979) argued that such bureacratization had indeed set in:

> As other and higher levels of government seek to promote equity and increase productivity in our educational institutions, important educational decisions are increasingly being determined centrally. The discretion of local officials is limited by their need to conform to policy decisions. The bureaucratic characteristics of schools are strengthened as decision-making about people and resources is based on established rules and procedures . . . To the extent that this process causes more bureaucratic overlay without attaining the policy objectives, it

results in . . . the hyperrationalization of the schools (pp. 47-48).

The primary purposes of this study were 1) to portray the historical stages of the political and functional authority to govern and influence the organization of the Newbury, Vermont, school system; 2) to note trends of centralization and/or bureaucratization; and 3) to determine what role the state has played, if any, in the development of the historical stages of the organization of the Newbury school system.

METHODS OF THE STUDY

This research sought to depict the increasing bureaucracy of schooling in Newbury, Vermont, and the increasing state involvement in education through a focused case study of one town's schools. This methodology suggests that state policy studies can be grounded at the place of policy implementation (not the place of policy origination), and that analysts ought to develop methodologies which turn Schon's metaphor for the policy arena inside-out. Schon (1971) described the center-periphery model as "the dominant model in our society for the growth and diffusion of organizations defined at high levels of specificity" (p. 187). Much of the literature on policy analysis follows this model. But a review of the implementation studies since the early 1970's (Bardach, 1971; Berman, 1978; Hargrove, 1975; Majone and Wildavsky, 1978; Montjoy and O'Toole, 1979; Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973; Weatherly and Lipsky, 1978) suggests that policymakers might benefit by considering

themselves on the periphery and schools as the centers. Grossman, Kirst and Schmidt-Posner (1986) supported this perspective for considering schools as the unit of analysis for evaluators of educational reforms:

> This bottom-up view can be used to construct a wholistic view of a school and explore the effects of reform on many of its components, including financial allocations, curriculum policy, teacher morale, administration behavior, and pupils' outcomes. Targeting the school as the unit of analysis is more promising than trying to track the impact of each state reform or even clusters of reform with similar objectives from the state to the local level (p. 265).

This case study focuses on the town of Newbury, Vermont, located on northeastern border of Vermont on the Connecticut River, about 25 miles north of Hanover, New Hampshire, home to Dartmouth College. Newbury includes over 36,000 acres, much of it excellent farmland, forests and rolling hills. Newbury was selected for this study for four reasons:

1. Its population has remained remarkably level for almost 200 years. There have been no dramatic local commercial developments that contributed to any idiosyncratic population declines or increases. It suffered from the same factors affecting population shifts since the late 1700's as did most of the rest of Vermont.
2. Schooling has occurred in Newbury continuously since the mid-1760's. Schooling in the town began before there was a state. As Huden (1943) pointed out:

Practically all of the available evidence indicates that education in the Hampshire Grants was a matter of family or neighborhood initiative. Education received early attention in towns where land titles were reasonably secure, and where champions of learning settled. An outstanding example is Newbury, where Jacob Bayley and his associates first located in 1763 or 1764. Apparently schools were in operation there before 1768 . . ." (p. 12).

3. The types of schooling in Newbury over its 225 year history are typical of many New England towns, from the one room rural schoolhouse, to the private 19th Century academy, to the consolidated, regional high school of the mid-to-late 20th Century.
4. Significant historical records about the schools were available for review.

Reviews of the literature of state governance and involvement in education in Vermont were completed, demonstrating the increasing state role, beginning with Vermont's first constitution of 1777 to the latest regulations concerning teacher licensure adopted by the State Board of Education in 1989. The school system of Newbury was studied by reading all school and town reports from the earliest printed records just prior to the Civil War to the present, by interviewing former students and teachers in the school system, and by reviewing other documents such as course catalogues, class lists, state attendance forms, pictures, and graduation announcements.

HISTORICAL PERIODS OF THE NEWBURY SCHOOL SYSTEM

In terms of school governance and organization, there are five historical periods of the Newbury school system which will be described:

Period I (1763 - 1832): Growth of the district schools.

Period II (1833 - 1891): District schools and the private secondary schools.

Period III (1892 - 1915): Beginning of the town school system.

Period IV (1916 - 1960): Growth of the town central system.

Period V (1961 - 1988): Origins of the union (inter-town) school system.

Related to these five local periods are five periods of state involvement in educational policymaking and governance which will be referenced:

Period I (1777 - 1807): Governance by permissive legislation.

Period II (1808 - 1891): Abdication of state responsibilities for public education.

Period III (1892 - 1915): Creation of town school systems.

Period IV (1916 - 1965): Development of the state bureaucracy.

Period V (1966 - 1989): State centralization of educational policy.

PERIOD I (1763 - 1832): GROWTH OF THE DISTRICT SCHOOLS

Local Newbury histories indicate that the first white men to journey through Newbury were soldiers in the French and Indian War. With the surrender of Montreal in September of 1760, many of these soldiers considered establishing a settlement on some of the rich Newbury farmland along the Connecticut River. The first family arrived in 1762, and Benning Wentworth, governor of the New Hampshire Grants, issued the Newbury charter on May 18, 1763 to Jacob Bayley, John Hazen, Jacob Kent, Timothy Bedell and 72 other associates. By terms of the charter, the town was divided into 81 shares of land, one of which was for the benefit of a school. The town history described education in those early years:

> Books were few and schools were not yet, but there were men and women of intelligence who gave a tone to the settlement. The Bible was in every house, and was the one book which everyone knew. All were poor except in land, with willing hearts and strong arms to win a sustenance from the soil (Wells, 1902, p. 33).

The first public action regarding education took place at the March 12, 1769 town meeting when the assembly voted to raise fifteen pounds for the support of a school. It seems likely there was one school, with some public support, in the late 1760's and into the 1770's. There are records in the early 1780's indicating that subscribers

> promise(d) to pay Samuel Hopkins seven pounds, four shillings . . . provided he teach a school three months

according to the directions we have given him (Wells, 1902, p. 202).

More than one school district is evident in a later agreement in which the subscribers agreed to

> pay our equal proportion in produce for the board and support of a good schoolmaster, qualified to teach English, writing and arithmetic in the middle District school and to find our proportion of wood at said school, provided there is a significant number of subscribers, not less than twenty . . . (Wells, 1902, p. 202-203).

By 1782 there were four school districts in the town, and by 1789 there were seven districts. Each district was independent of the other. Members of the district were responsible for hiring a teacher, building a schoolhouse, and contributing firewood. Schoolhouses were built near the junction of roads, or streams and rivers.

This was a period of rapid development of one room schoolhouses and independent districts. The population of Newbury grew from that first family in 1762 to 872 people and seven school districts in 1791 (the year Vermont became the thirteenth state), to over two thousand people in the mid-1820's with sixteen school districts (each with its own one room schoolhouse) serving over 600 students. This mirrored the rapid population growth in the rest of the state (see Appendix A). Between 1790 and 1810, there was significant in-migration from southern New England, most of whom were under the age of thirty. The state population grew from 85,000 in 1790 to over 200,000 in

1810, and over half the population consisted of children under the age of sixteen (Vermont Business Roundtable, 1988). The proliferation of one room schoolhouses in the large geographic area of Newbury was replicated in many smaller towns of Vermont so that by 1820 there were over 1,600 common schools in the state (Huden, 1943).

> The town historian wrote about each district school: (as) a little independent commonwealth, with certain well-defined boundaries, which built and owned its own schoolhouses, raised and collected its own taxes, and on the last Tuesday of March, in each year, the voters settled its momentous concerns with a formality which copied, on a small scale, the proceedings of the annual town meeting. Each district had its board of officers, school district politics ran high, and the system was the occasion of more local quarrels than anything else in town. Too often the sole qualifications of the school committee was his (sic) ability to hire a teacher on lower terms than anybody else. Schools have been taught . . . for seventy-five cents a week, and even as low as fifty cents, with board (Wells, 1902, p. 204).

THE STATE: GOVERNANCE BY PERMISSIVE LEGISLATION (1777 - 1807)

During this period, the State was struggling to form itself--and to avoid becoming part of New York or New Hampshire. The first Vermont Constitution in 1777 stated that a school should be established in each town, and a university established.

During Vermont's fourteen years as an independent political entity (1777-1791) it had two more state constitutions and both (in 1786 and 1791) stated that schools should be established in each town. In almost every town schools were already in existence. As Stone (1937) described it:

> There was no school law, no school board, no supervision, no certifying system -- simply a teacher (p.20).

The first state school law (in 1782) gave Newbury the authority to divide the town into districts, to elect district officers, and allowed districts to raise half the cost of the school by taxes. All of these had been taking place in Newbury for over ten years.

The first comprehensive school law was passed in 1797. It stated that English reading, writing and arithmetic should be taught, and that school districts could tax property (but not of non-residents). There was no way for the State to dictate curricula, even the most common of expectations. Similarly, districts had determined their own methods to finance their schools, usually a combination of taxes (or contribution of wood) and subscription fees, and had been doing so for twenty to thirty years. The state had no enforcement power; in fact, it had no personnel to review school curricula or finance or to act as intermediary between the state and the school district. The State claimed in its three constitutions the legal authority for schooling, as allowed for in the Tenth Amendment of the U. S. Constitution, but the claim was primarily symbolic at this stage. People who lived within one to two miles of the schoolhouse determined (if they bothered at all) who went to school, who

taught, what was taught, and whether the building would be warm or not. As Huden (1943) noted:

> For fifty years after Vermont's Declaration of Independence, the Green Mountain State exercised no control over its common schools except through town officers and this amounted to almost no control (p. 43).

PERIOD II (1833 - 1891): DISTRICT SCHOOLS AND THE PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Between 1833 and 1891 the number of independent school districts in Newbury increased from sixteen to twenty (reaching its high point of twenty-one districts in the early 1870's). Steady population increases took place until 1850 when the town reached its all-time high of almost 3,000 people. The population began to decline with the beginning of the Civil War and by 1890 there were just over 2,000 people in the town, with the twenty school districts serving 369 students (slightly more than half the number of students served in 1830).

There are three noteworthy developments during this second period. First is the development of the district schools throughout the entire geographic area of the town and the beginnings of some form of local (town) supervision and evaluation of the schools. Second was the development of private secondary education in Newbury which was the precursor for public secondary education in the town at the end of the 19th Century. Finally, there was the development of state interest in school district organization and governance which set the stage for the

replacement of the district system with the town school system.

SCHOOL DISTRICTS THROUGHOUT NEWBURY

From 1857 through 1890 there were between nineteen and twenty-one school districts in the town, some closing temporarily as population shifts took place (see Appendix B). Every geographic area of the town had its schoolhouse; each schoolhouse had its three member school board; each board hired its own teacher. This pattern was repeated throughout the state; in 1851 there were over 2,600 independent common schools in Vermont.

There is no record of any school superintendent in Newbury until 1846. However the phrase "school superintendent" is misleading. The superintendent was expected not to hire or fire, or to develop budgets or curriculum. His purpose was to visit each school once and report the condition of the schools to the citizens at town meeting in March. Between 1846 and 1905 the town superintendent was usually either a local minister or one of the three town selectmen. Their printed reports (beginning in 1859) reveal their assumptions about effective schooling, and illustrate the differences between their ideal and the real conditions of rural schools:

1. Students must be prompt:

   "A good school cannot be had here until parents will send their children with greater promptness and regularity . . . "(Report of the Supt. for 1859-60).

2. Students must behave properly:

   "The scholars for the most part seem rude, backward,

and indifferent to study. If any of the scribblings and cuttings of obscenity . . . still remain on the doors and walls of the house; or if any of those profane and obscene words we heard there are still echoing round about the house, we commend them to the painful notice of the friends of that school" (Report of the Supt. for 1859-60).

3. Schools need neighborhood support:

"Some reports to the contrary, and, some little difficulty about the school, not in it, were attributable . . . to unhappy neighborhood disputes" (Report of the Supt. for 1859-60).

4. Parents should visit their school:

"It is also indispensable to a good school that parents often visit it . . . They should go to the schoolroom to see how their children behave, and how much or little they are learning. They should go to encourage the teacher and to judge his qualifications by personal observation" (Report of the Supt. for 1859-60).

"It is a matter of surprise that you fellow citizens will pay out so much money in support of your schools and never interest yourselves enough in them to visit them that you may know whether they are profitable or otherwise" (Report of the Supt. for 1860-61).

"Is there a man in all this town so unspeakably shiftless that he would hire a person for twelve weeks to care for his stock in his barn without once going to look after it himself? In all this town less than twelve male

persons have visited our schools" (Report of the Supt. for 1885-86).

5. Good schools need effective teachers:

"No school in town has made better progress than this in the past year. Miss Witherspoon seems entirely to have revolutionized their habits of study" (Report of the Supt. for 1860-61).

"It is not advisable to employ young and inexperienced female teachers in the winter school of large scholars" (Report of the Supt. for 1874-75).

6. Schools need teachers:

"It was sad that so good a scholar as Mr. Farr should allow so disorderly a school" (Report of the Supt. for 1861-62).

"Miss Brock is certainly too feeble and slow in her manner to succeed well as a teacher" (Report of the Supt. for 1861-62).

"If your superintendent has licensed any to teach who were not thoroughly qualified, no one can regret it more than himself. He might doubtless have set the standard so high that there would have been no danger in the direction, but then you might have had a scarcity of teachers. You would have had a scarcity" (Report of the Supt. for 1860-61).

7. Student learning is demonstrated through recitation:

"In the summer term tere was a great want of life and energy in both school and teacher. Recitations were

droning and imperfect. Scholars wer notoriously tardy and absent."

"There was, however, a want of readiness and precision in the style of recitation" (Report of the Supt. for 1859-60).

8. Schools would improve if the superintendent's evaluations took place and were taken seriously by parents:

"Your superintendent regrets not having had the pleasure of visiting this school during the summer term. No teacher appeared for examination, and we did not hear they had a school till it was too late to visit it" (Report of the Supt. for 1860-61).

"As number 9 may boast the best school in town, so number 10 may boast of having supported the poorest specimen of a school, during the summer term, that I had the misfortune to visit" (Report of the Supt. for 1874-75).

"All must love this little school who visit it -- there are some such bright little scholars here" (Report of the Supt. for 1861-62).

These "superintendents" relied upon their standing in the community to increase the likelihood that townspeople would take seriously their one-paragraph evaluations of each district school. They had no authority to do any more than use the bully pulpit.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE SECONDARY EDUCATION

In 1833 the Methodist Episcopal Congregation of New Hampshire and Vermont decided to build a seminary in the Village of Newbury. The brick building was erected for a cost of $4100 and opened on September 15, 1833. The seminary was operated by the Congregation from 1833 to 1867. From 1868 through 1871 it was operated by the "men of Newbury Village" until it was sold to a minister (Rev. Eastman) who operated it until 1887. This building became the site of Newbury's first public high school in 1894.

The Newbury Seminary enrolled betwen 200 and just over 500 students annually during its thirty-four year affiliation with the Congregation (its largest enrollment being 534 students in 1850). In 1850 the Seminary also became the home of the Female Collegiate Institute, making the site a co-educational secondary institution for students throughout Vermont and New Hampshire. Its 1864 Catalogue lists the names of ten faculty and 338 students. Table 1 shows that less than 25% of the students were from Newbury.

TABLE 1

Hometowns of 1864 Newbury Seminary Students

	Newbury	Other VT Towns	New Hampshire	Other States
Male	40	44	49	10
Female	36	96	55	8
Total	76	140	104	18

During the thirty-four year affiliation with the Congregation, the Newbury Seminary was attended by over 7,000 students. In addition to the classical courses of study, the main academic building, and the campus-like setting on the Newbury Common, a major reason for the popularity of the Seminary was its location along the Connecticut River on a fairly reliable train route. The Newbury Seminary was sold to Rev. Samuel Eastman in 1871. He struggled to keep the Seminary in operation until 1887 when he sold it to Dr. Hatch, who in turn sold it to the village school district.

A second private educational institution opened in 1873 on a different site in Newbury, near the river and within walking distance of the train station. Rev. William Clark bought what had been the Newbury Sulphur Spring and Bathing Establishment and established the Montebello Ladies Institute which educated young women from 1873 to 1880. Miss Mary Tenney was the principal from 1873 to 1879 (at which point she moved to Smith College, but died shortly thereafter at the age of 35). The Montebello Institute included twenty-five boarders and sixty-five day pupils, instructed by a staff of five teachers.

Thus, the town of Newbury had secondary education from 1833 onward. These institutions were not public schools, were not governed by a school board, and were not inexpensive. However, they occupied land in and around the central common of the town, and they provided secondary education to many young men and women of Newbury. In considering the development of modern day schools, these private institutions were significant precursors

the public secondary school system:

1. residents expected to pay for secondary education;
2. they were accustomed to secondary schools overseen by boards of trustees;
3. the emphasis on the curriculum was expected to be classical;
4. the school principal and the board of trustees determined all school policies.

Toward the conclusion of the 1880's the population of Newbury (2,316) had developed a one-hundred year history with the district school system, and a fifty year history with private secondary education. The State of Vermont, however, had made attempts during these years to reorganize public schools, and while these early attempts failed, the future was clear and ominous to many Newbury citizens.

THE STATE: ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH THE TOWN SCHOOL SYSTEM

The second period of state involvement in education (1808 - 1891) is marked by almost a century of erratic policy initiatives, must of which were attempts to centralize and bureaucratize the proliferation of the "little independent commonwealth(s)," the district schools. In 1850, there were over 2,600 school districts in Vermont (Huden, 1943). With so many school districts, and no state school department, it was difficult simply to distribute any state funds. In 1825 the state did distribute some funds to towns for the support of common schools. In 1827, legislation described the officers of a

school district (moderator, clerk, tax collector, and school board members), and also created the first state board of school commissioners for common schools. The five members were elected by the General Assembly, had primarily advisory duties, and attempted to develop a list of recommended school books, and subjects to be taught. However, the inherent difficulties of communicating with more than 2,000 school districts were impossible to overcome, and in 1833 the legislature abolished the short-lived Board of Commissioners. Between 1833 and 1845 there were no delegated state powers of supervision to any state department or agency. The school population of Vermont numbered about 100,000 students during these years.

In 1841 legislation was passed which allowed two districts to form a union school to educate older students. The purpose of this legislation was to allow for the creation of inter-district high schools. This was the first legislative attempt to crack the district system model. The first state superintendent, Horace Eaton of Enosburg, made clear the bias against the rural district schools: "Small districts are said -- and truly so -- to be the paradise of ignorant teachers."

In 1845 began the first in a series of state attempts to organize the administration and supervision of district schools. Town superintendents were to be elected by voters at town meeting, and this remained the common practice until 1889. As mentioned earlier, these superintendents visited each school once per year and provided a written report on the condition of schooling at each district in the town. Above these town

superintendents were county superintendents who issued teaching certificates, and the state superintendent who was paid $200 annually. The county and state superintendents were appointed annually by the legislature. The office of county superintendents, however, was abolished by the legislature in 1849, and initiated a pattern of attempts and failures of county supervision. This was highlighted by the legislation of 1889 which eliminated the town as the unit of governance and replaced it with the county. This lasted one year.

In 1850, Charles Burnham of Danville was elected the second State Superintendent, but in 1851 no one was elected to that office, and so it remained vacant for another five years. Despite these futile attempts at school administration, however, occasional pieces of legislation in the second half of the 19th Century laid the groundwork for increasing state involvement in education:

1856: school committees could be penalized if they paid wages to non-certified teachers. In 1857, there were 467 teachers reported without certificates; in 1859 there were 89 teachers reported without certificates. Obviously, some schools may have changed their reporting practice in order to comply.

1857: towns could acquire property for school houses by eminent domain.

1858: average daily attendance (ADA) used as a basis for apportionment of public funds to districts.

1862: History of Vermont was to be taught in schools.

1864: no longer a tax on parents of students. The free

common school became a reality.

1867: The three normal schools in Randolph, Castleton, and Johnson (one for each of Vermont's three congressional districts) became regulated by the State.

Towns could vote to provide textbooks to children for free.

Compulsory attendance for 8 - 14 year olds.

State issued teaching certificates (no longer the local superintendent).

1880: districts could provide transportation for students to attend neighboring districts.

1882: districts could provide transportation for students at the expense of the town.

1886: physiology and hygiene to be taught "with special reference to the effects of alcoholic drinks and narcotics on the human system."

By the late 1800's the State had made efforts to legislate school administration, curriculum, transportation, attendance, teacher certification, and numerous other policies. A review of the Newbury school and town reports throughout the later half of the 19th Century revealed some frustration over transportation problems:

> the matter of transportation has been a vexatious one, and the arguments relating thereto have been too numerous to mention, and it will be several years before the matter can be happily adjusted (Report of the School Directors for 1894).

Other state policies seem to have been accepted. All but one: elimination of the district school system.

In 1870 legislation was passed which allowed towns to abolish the district system in favor of the town system. In Newbury, this would mean abolishing the nineteen or twenty independent school boards, and placing the administration of all the schools in town under one school board (with three members). Between 1870 and 1889, forty Vermont towns voted to establish the town system; fifteen of these forty towns reverted back to the district system (Stone, 1937).

In 1884, fourteen years after the original permissive legislation (and minimal town response), the legislature required towns to vote two years in succession on whether they would adopt the town system. In Newbury, the vote for a town system was defeated twice:

1885:	Yes -- 45	No -- 229
1886:	Yes -- 40	No -- 149

In spite of the defeat at the 1886 town meeting, the selectman who also functioned as town superintendent for many years, Horace W. Bailey, foresaw both the shortcomings of the district system and the increasing state role in local schools, and he shared his perceptions and predictions with his fellow citizens at the 1886 town meeting:

> Each of the twenty-one school districts in this town under the present school system are miniature republics, and you (citizens) -- not the scholars, teachers, or committees -- are responible for the kind of school you have . . .

> The town system I believe never was originated for the benefit of sparce populated country . . . The town system aims at, yea, forces the management of all our system upon three commissioners. I am free to say that I believe three men cannot be found in this town capable of managing the schools who would accept the office . . .
>
> The groundwork of character . . . receives its first impulse in the home. Its next molder is the school house, not the high school, the Academy or the College, but in the tens of thousands of little school houses that dot the face of our fair land, 2445 of which are found in our own State, a part of which are the 21 school districts in our town, and in some one of these districts is your home. You are the men upon whose shoulders rests this responsibility, the importance of which is second to no other. Had you done your whole duty in this matter of common schools, had you industriously applied yourselves to the advancement of your district schools, no man or body of men, nor wise legislators, would ask you to change a system of schools which might and should be made perfect in every detail."

Horace Bailey had the honesty to address the deficiencies of the district system as well as the vision to appreciate its potential -- and its passing.

PERIOD III (1892 - 1915): BEGINNING OF THE TOWN SCHOOL SYSTEM

Prior to the middle of the 20th Century, there were two critical stages in the development of Vermont's public schools. The first occurred during the years around 1892 with the development of the town school system. (The second, discussed later, was the development in 1915 of the current state education bureaucracy.) As True and Cyronik (1968) pointed out, in 1892 the "modern movement toward a more centralized state educational system" began. The 1892 law brought to an end the district school system and its multitude of independent school boards. The law required a three person school board for the town, a board which would oversee all the school houses in the town.

After one year of change in school governance, apparently some citizens felt that this recent change might be temporary -- as was the pattern with many of the State's attempts throughout the 19th Century. The auditors report for Newbury in 1894 read:

> Your school directors presented their accounts the best they were able to do before the close of the school year. Should the town system continue, we believe that future legislation is necessary to remedy the defects of the law.

Other citizens apparently had more strident feelings about the new law. The report of the new school directors in the same year contained vivid descriptions of such feelings:

> As might be expected, the change, when it came, was not hospitably received by all the people. The board of school directors, in entering upon their duties, found, first, a depleted treasury, not a solitary cent left over for seed;

second, school-houses out of repair; third, school-house sheds cleaned out, even to the chips; fourth, supplies needed on every hand; fifth, a general upward tendency in the price of teachers' wages, teachers' board, wood, etc.; sixth, inconsistencies in the school law . . . It is the unanimous opinion of the directors that the town system has come to stay, and the belligerent may as well be washing off their war-paint, and, if during the next school year, you happen to miss getting the teacher you want, don't get violent and do, and say, simple things. Bide your time, a school board is not omnipotent.

Once this first stage in the centralization of governance was completed, the first action of the three town school directors was the centralization of school buildings:

> Our first official act of importance, was to establish a town central school at Newbury Village, with four distinct departments: high, business, grammar, and primary; a school to which all persons in town of school age have been admitted free, except in the branches of type-writing and stenography . . . Every section of the town has been represented at the Town Central School, and we leave it to stand on its own merits, and submit to the people whether or not the Town Central School has been a success (Annual Report of the Town of Newbury for the Year Ending February 15, 1894).

The Village of Newbury had bought the old Newbury Seminary building on the common. The transition of private secondary

education to public secondary education was made possible, at least in small part, due to the transition from the district system to the town system. The new board of directors were in place to hire teachers and to make such a school available to "all persons in town of school age." But this new school, in a brick building with four teachers and 145 students, certainly drew enough students from the old, more rural district schools to jeopardize the future of those schools. In the decade (1890's) in which the town system and the Town Central School were established, the population of Newbury grew from 2,080 to 2,125, but the number of school districts dropped from twenty to eleven -- the most dramatic decline in the number of districts in the town's 130 year history. Many families who were able to transport their children into the Village, or arrange weekly boarding for them, took advantage of the appeal of a graded system, numerous teachers, and a more modern brick building.

The passage of the 1892 law also led to the development of the local school bureaucracy. Prior to 1895 in Newbury there was one annual town meeting and there were occasional school reports at these town meetings. Since districts paid for their own schools, the town meeting was an opportunity only for the sharing of information about the students, teachers, and parents of each district. However, beginning in 1895 (and lasting until 1935), the annual town meeting had a printed town report which included a section describing school costs and school questions. This is the beginning of the period when townspeople could see how much was spent at each district for each teacher (e.g. in 1895, the teacher in West Newbury was paid $40.50 for teaching nine weeks

in the Spring term). The practice of listing each teacher's name and salary persisted until 1972. The practice of publishing a categorical budget also began in the 1890's. The first categories were items such as wood, supplies, books, "cleaning schoolhouses," and "a new schoolhouse" which cost the town $1,195.21 in 1895.

The school board had the authority to appoint a superintendent of schools whose duty was still to visit each school and make recommendations to the town. Until 1905, one of the school directors served this function. The director who functioned as superintendent in 1895 issued a report which revealed the range of concerns at that time:

> The school houses in number 12 and 15 are in good condition but poor in plan. The stove is close to the teacher's desk which makes it too warm for her while children in the back part of the room are cold. The school houses in number 13 and 17 are in deplorable condition. Their sanitary conditions are just terrible.
>
> I found (the teachers) all doing as good work as could be expected under the conditions of things. In some localities there is a strong feeling against the school law, and the opponents of the law seemed to think if they made noise enough they might throw off the yoke. Well, they succeeded in the House, but the Senate sat down on them full weight. . . . I find in some instances a dislike, on the part of the parents, of the modern methods of teaching. They seem to think that it is the duty of the teacher to do their work

for them, to save the child from the labor of study (Annual Report, 1895).

By 1896, only one of the twenty or so districts in town had paid to the new town school board the balance of its treasury as required to do so by the 1892 law. The school directors asked the citizens to direct them to "collect such balance, if necessary, by legal process." The development of the Town Central School, the development of printed budgets, and the centralization of governance created a school board more able and interested to seek funding for schools. But the public argument to support school funding in 1896 was not an appeal for greater individual opportunity through education, or protection of the democratic system. The superintendent argued:

> Experience demonstrates that is is unwise to economize too much in school matters. Every laudable and painstaking endeavor should be exerted to build and maintain the strongest bulwark of our country's defense -- the public school (Annual Report, 1896).

This is the earliest written use of national, or international, concerns to justify local spending on schooling. As Edelman (1977) has noted:

> For governments and for aspirants to leadership it is therefore important both that people become anxious about their security and that their anxiety be assuaged, though never completely so (p.5).

The late 1890's is the beginning of the period of educational administration and leadership, not just as it mushroomed in urban America, but in Newbury as well. The use of language to

delineate the differences between the leadership and the citizenry was instrumental in the creation of educational administration and educational bureaucracies. As early as 1896, in a rural, agricultural northern Vermont town of 2000 people, the superintendent attempted to make the citizens anxious about their national defense, but also directed them to a process of substantive school funding which would assuage those anxieties.

It is important to note the shift to bureaucratic language, which becomes more evident as the years pass, but it is also important to note that the superintendents of this era were still local men who could speak directly to their fellow citizens in a tone which professional educators would not assume. The superintendent of 1898 did not attempt to gain public support of schools by declaring how effective the schools were. Like the superintendents of the 1860's, he believed in depicting a poor situation directly and placing the responsibility on the parents:

> If your children are not what they ought to be it is no fault of the school directors or teachers . . . The great majority of these 288 children will receive no schooling beyond these schools, hence they had better be taught mundane fact. Our teachers are doing this very thing, and they earn every cent they receive for it (Annual Report, 1898).

For the remainder of this period, the population of Newbury declined slightly (from 2,300 in 1880 to 1,908 in 1920) while the Orange County population decreased significantly, and the state population increased slightly. The number of "district" schools

in Newbury was either nine or ten through these years, and the Town Central School (grade 1 through high school) took on greater significance, and more students. But even though the organization of schools did not change in the early years of the 20oth Century, the concerns and decisions of the Newbury School Directors between the late 1890's and 1915 set the framework for concerns and decisions of Newbury School Boards into the later part of the 20th Century.

These concerns were: teacher turnover, disease, lack of parental support, financial support of schools, consolidation, transportation and curriculum. The superintendent's report of 1899 noted that only four schools of the eleven in town had the same teacher for the entire year. The report of 1900 noted that

> epidemic disease, principally scarlet fever, has caused a break in several schools and quite seriously interfered with attendance. I am glad to report that, so far as I am able to learn, there has not been a fatal case among the registered pupils in the town school district (Annual Report, 1900).

This same report also completed what had been a century of pleading with parents to care for their young learners and their schools:

> The teachers are doing for your children whaat you cannot and will not do for them. Quit this guerilla warfare on the school teacher, the school house, and the school official. Do by them as you would have them do by you if your position were reversed, and watch for results.
> The 1907 Report is the first indication of a rift between

the School Directors and the Superintendent. It revealed the difference in perspectives between the local, communical concerns of the directors and the professional administrative concerns of the superintendent. The School Directors section of the report stated that:

> The transportation of pupils is a necessary evil to be avoided in every case where a legal scholar can be sustained in due radius. . . The scholarship and deportment are found to be better in district schools than in large centralized schools. There are fewer means for making rude pupils. . . Parents who do not wish to lose their district school must feel more personal reponsibility in having their children attend every day possible, for the last legislature makes illegal all schools not having an ADA (average daily attendance) of 8 pupils.

The directors worried about the cost of transportation (which would increase with centralized schools), argued that district school students exhibited better behavior, and that parents should send their children to school to prevent the state from closing small district schools. Contrast this perspective with the superintendent's:

> This consolidation and transportation is a tendency of modern education and the more quickly a community falls into line, the sooner it will rank among the leaders.

A year later, the same superintendent argued that two actions would improve Newbury schools:

> 1. Repair your schools.

2. The consolidation of several of our district schools into 2 or 3 buildings of two graded schools each.

But the impetus to consolidate also came from a new source, the State Board of Health which had been given the authority in 1904 to regulate the lighting and sanitation of public buildings. This accounts for Newbury's Report of the Health Officer in the 1908 Town Report:

> The State Board of Health has adopted regulations whereby all school houses must be constructed in the future. Very few of your buildings would stand close inpsection. To avoid the interference of the State Board in these matters, I would advise you to renovate, remodel, or rebuild as fast as possible. . . As the tendency of the times seems to point towards centralization, we advocate consolidation of Districts 7 and 8 and Rogers' Hill, thereby securing more efficient school-work, through proper gradation as well as better sanitation.

Not surprisingly, the following year the School Directors responded with their concerns about cumulative state recommendations and regulations:

> The statutes and the regulations of the State Board of Health regarding public buildings make the putting and keeping of public school buildings in such repair as will comply with such laws and rulings obligatory, and a heavy item of expense while putting such buildings in thorough repair. Free textbooks and supplies and free transporation, under the workings of the present laws, are a constantly increasing item of expense and, from our observation and

> experience in the past year, tend only to destroy all individual responsibility in child or parent, removing the greatest spur to ambition by cutting out the necessity for personal effort, and throwing almost the whole responsibility for a child's education upon the town school district. The whole tendency of the system of free books and supplies and free transportation is toward pauperizing the masses, especially the poorer classes, where thrift, economy and self-independence are most necessary and essential.

And finally, the School Directors recognized inconsistences between the aspirations of the children they were serving in the central Town School building (inherited from the Newbury Seminary) and the curriculum (which had also been inherited from Newbury Seminary):

> Your directors hope to introduce studies along agriculture and industrial lines in our high school that will be of practical use to the large population of our boys and girls who will never go to any higher school . . . In the end, we believe that more good will be done by giving a more practical course of study than now results from trying to continue a preparatory school, which has not yet averaged to send one student to college each year and which is, even now, finding it extremely difficult to meet, with its present number of teachers, the requirements of college entrance boards (Newbury Town Report, 1910).

It should also be noted that in the midst of these concerns,

the Town Central School burned to the ground (along with many other Village buildings) in a catatrophic fire in 1913. A new brick building was ready for occupancy in 1915 on the same site (and currently is home to the Newbury Elementary School).

Between 1892 and 1915, a period of just twenty-three years, Newbury shifted from its 125 year history of independent district schools and private secondary education, to a town school system with fewer district schools, a public high school with curricular tracks, and state involvement to a degree previously unimagined. This period -- and the issues of this period -- set the foundation for Newbury education for the next seventy-five years.

THE STATE: CREATION OF THE TOWN SCHOOL SYSTEM (1892 - 1915)

In addition to the 1892 law which created the town school system (and reduced the number of school municipalities from 2500 units to 300 units), the State was active in other areas of educational legislation and regulation. The Newbury School Directors often complained about the textbooks they had to provide at no cost to students. This was a result of an 1894 law that stated that school districts must supply texts (but this did not apply to high schools). In 1896 the state declared that towns could share a superintendent (which introduced the concept of supervisory unions), and in 1898 the state said that students who lived more than 1.5 miles from school were eligible for transporation assistance. These rules forced no mandate on the towns, but such permissive legislation set the stage for subsequent state mandates, just as the permissive legislation

regarding town school systems in in 1870 set the stage for the mandates of 1892.

In the early 1900's the high school concept gained much of the state's attention. In 1900, a town of 2,500 was required to have a high school. In 1902, the high school was defined by the state: in session for at least thirty-three weeks, employed certified teachers, and offered four years of courses. In 1904, responding to the varied curriculum of high schools, the state first granted teacher certification in special subjects. And in 1914 all towns with high schools had to provide free textbooks.

The significance of these rules went beyond their immediate impact on towns and schools. What happened between 1892 and 1914 was that the State created a school system with which it could more easily communicate and manage. It dramatically reduced the number of school boards (and in 1894 even ruled that boards would have three citizens serve on them), adopted rules which favored consolidation of elementary schools and creation of town high schools, and began the process of developing a cadre professional managers (superintendents) whose affiliation was stronger with the state than the town (a result of the Act of 1906 in which the state subsidized the salary of the union supervisor).

Any doubts about the effect or intentions of such rules were put to rest in 1914 with the publication of the results of the Carnegie Foundation survey and the Vermont Educational Commission Report. Governor Allen Fletcher recommended in 1912 to the legislature the creation of the Educational Commission because:

> a doubt has arisen in the minds of many of those most intimately related to the secondary and elementary schools

of the state as to the efficiency of our common school system . . . (Report of the Commission to Investigate the Educational System and Conditions of Vermont, 1914, p. 1).

The commission of nine members was to inquire into the entire educational system of the state (including postsecondary education). It held its first meeting on December 12, 1912, and authorized the Carnegie survey on February 24, 1913, led by Dr. Henry Pritchett. The Carnegie report noted that Vermont was

> financially unable to enter upon many of the projects of education that a rich and populous state can undertake (and that) the problem of the common school overshadows all others (A Study of Education in Vermont, 1914, p.8).

The survey found 1,700 schoolhouses in the state, 1,400 of them one-room schoolhouses. There were 83,000 children between the ages of five and seventeen, and 57,000 of them were in elementary schools. Elementary school teachers were paid an average of $8 to $9 per week. The Carnegie staff recommended the reorganization of schools and development of vocational education, the institution of a lay state board of education, a state commissioner of education and a staff, improved training of teachers, improvement of the state's agricultural college, and an end of state subsidies to higher education.

Most, not all, of the Carnegie recommendations were included in the final report of the Commission. They recommended that:

> -- rural schools . . . be consolidated and that their courses of study be revised to the end that instructions given, not only in method but in content, may be suited to

the daily life and environment of the youth.

-- there should be a junior high maintained in every town . . . limited in scope by the numbers and needs of local boys and girls 12 to 16 years of age . . .

-- as many central and readily accessible senior high schools, articulating directly with all neighboring junior high schools . . . number and location to be determined by the board of education (Report of the Commission, 1914).

The Commission also recommended that all secondary school teachers be trained at Middlebury College and that the secondary schools focus on vocational education:

> It is far better that the great mass of our youth should be trained in the skillful performance of their lifework than receive a fragmentary intellectual development of little practical value (p. 35).

The Commission offered an outline which suggested categories of responsibilities for parents, towns, and the state:

Parent: feeds, clothes, and cares for the child;

Town: furnishes the school plant, equipment, books, supplies, and wages of teachers;

State: pays for supervision and portions of teachers' wages, trains teachers, is responsible for medical inspection, and summer schools for teachers.

Their report forthrightly noted (p. 20) that "concentration and centralization within proper limitations is a sound policy."

PERIOD IV (1915 - 1960): GROWTH OF THE TOWN CENTRAL SYSTEM

Between 1915 and 1960 the population of Newbury decreased from approximately 2,000 to just under 1,500. The number of rural "district" schools dropped from ten to three. For residents of Newbury in their late forties and older, this time period provides the basis for their memories of schooling in Newbury in "the old days." As roads and communication improved, as electricity became more available, the focus for education turned more and more to the Town Central School in Newbury Village. Few new people moved into town. School was where a greater percentage of Newbury children met one another than in the previous years of the district schools. Also, increasing percentages of Newbury youngsters continued in school through high school, especially as the high school developed a variety of extra-curricular activities and began to compete against other town high schools. During this period, personal identity was developed through the traditional associations of family, church, and neighborhood, but perhaps more than in earlier years with town, as Newbury was represented by its high school basketball team, other sports' teams, and other student associations and clubs.

While local school directors continued to be concerned with the growing number of state regulations, there were no overt state rules threatening the organizational structure of school systems. The town system prevailed, and traces of the district system cotinued to fade. The superintendents during this period were not local ministers who visited the schools once a year, nor

were they selectmen who added the duties of superintendent to their responsibilities for a number of days each year. This was the beginning of the age of the professional administrator. As noted by the school directors in the 1915 school report:

> Under the new State Board of Education and State Commissioner, a new and definite state policy will be inaugurated. Your new superintendent, appointed by the State Board and thereby constituted a state rather than a local official, will be the agent to carry into effect this state policy (Annual Report, 1915).

The superintendent's report of 1917 had a remarkably different tone than the previous superintendents' reports which chastised parents, criticized teachers and scolded students:

> I am very glad of the opportunity of expressing my appreciation for the hearty cooperation which I have received throughout the town in this past year . . . and I can assure you that I feel doubly the responsibility of my position when I realize that any failure in school work must be due to my shortcoming rather than any lack of cooperation on your part.

One can only guess that the long-time readers of superintendents' reports, having read this report, felt:

1. suspicion and resentment about such claim;
2. relief that the guilt-inducing annual report had a different tone; or,
3. wonderment at the naivete of the writer.

The quote illustrates, however, the shift in language and

perspective claimed by admnistrators who were not first and foremost town citizens. There was created an implicit distance between the people of the town and the school administrator. One of their own could point out their shortcoming, but the professional claimed all responsibility for himself. The professional administrator would be concerned during this period with three major issues: teacher supply, curriculum, and consolidation.

TEACHER SUPPLY

Teacher shortages plagued the town well into the 1950's. Almost all teachers were women, and the superintendent in 1920 reported that

> at first thought it will seem to some that girls receiving from $15 to $18 a week are well paid, but when it is taken into consideration that teachers teach but 34 weeks in a year -- there are long vacations in the winter when they are under expense without pay . . . $500 or more a year is not a munificent sum . . .
>
> In 1916, 102 students graduated from the state normal schools and this year (1920) 34 will graduate. At the present time over 50 schools are closed in the state for want of teachers . . . There has been talk of teachers' unions, strikes and the like. In my opinion the teachers of Vermont will never organize for the purpose of forcing up the teacher wage, but it might be far better if they should, rather than leave the profession as they are now doing with

> the results that their positions are filled with inexperienced and untrained teachers at higher salaries than they were receiving (Town Report, 1920).

The most common response to threatened teacher shortages was local action -- training high school students (most often girls) to become teachers in the ten or so one room schoolhouses in town. The principal of 1923 reported that

> during the summer, through the untiring efforts of the school board and the principal, a teacher training course was established and ten girls secured to insure suitable teachers for Newbury in the future -- a long felt need.

In 1934, it proved fortunate that most teachers were local Newbury citizens as the effects of the depression lingered. During the previous year "teachers took a voluntary reduction in their salaries and this year a large reduction was made." The total spent for teacher salaries in 1933 was $13,498 and the total in the following year was $8,888, a cut of 34%. This affected all of the towns fifteen teachers, six at the Town Central School and nine in the rural schools. Not surprisingly, there were changes in teachers that year in five of the nine rural schools. The 1935 superintendent's report revealed one reason why salaries were so low, and couldn't get lower:

> No changes in teachers' salaries were made this year. The amount is still the smallest amount possible in order to get state aid.

State aid was based in part on the training of teachers. In 1934-35 the total amount for teacher salaries was $8,973 of which the State contributed $1,309. In 1936 the state average salary

for elementary school teachers was $755, and in Newbury the average was $595.

Beginning in the early 1940's, teacher shortages are mentioned as a primary reason for closing some of the rural schools. This is first noted in the principal's report of 1942, and in 1943 the superintendent wrote that:

> Because of the scarcity of teachers, the State Department recommended that small schools be closed and consolidated whenever possible. The South Newbury and Fulton Schools were closed this year.

When such schools closed, some children were transported to another district school or the Town Central School (as was the case with the South Newbury children), or they were "tuitioned" to a district in a neighboring town (as was the case with the Fulton School children who were sent to East Corinth).
In the same report of 1943, the superintendent warned that "in recent years not many girls from the town of Newbury have been taking teacher training."

In 1946, the superintendent make clear the link between the shortage of teachers, consolidation and increased transportation costs:

> Unless more young people take up teacher training the teacher situation will not be improved for several years. . . . Because of the closed schools there is considerable transportation . . . There is a need in Newbury for state aid to help pay for the transportation of high school pupils. It is very difficult and discouraging for many

pupils from the rural sections to get to Newbury for their high school education.

And in 1948, the superintendent made it apparent that the teacher shortage was not simply a shortage of qualified applications to teach in the rural schools, but a shortage of people willing to teach in such situations:

> There is very little interest, on the part of teachers, in teaching in one room school houses. Unless the situation improves soon the town will be faced with more problems of transportation and consolidation.

Another part of the transportation problem was that many high school age students did not attend high school since transportation was not free, and this, in turn, threatened the viability of the school. Apparently the availability of free bus rides to school in 1950 caused high school enrollment to increase and solidify:

> As a result of this opportunity to ride (the bus from rural districts) only one pupil who graduated from the elementary schools last year is not attending high school this year.

In 1952, with businesses developing across the country and the Korean War taking place, there is the first mention of losing potential teachers to other occupations. The Superintendent reported that "competition from industry and the war effort is so strong that the supply of teachers is not increasing." Two years later, the State increased state aid in order to raise teacher salaries and teacher preparation:

> (The) increase in state aid (is) supposed to be used to get teachers' salaries up to the minimum required by law.

Minimum salaries have been raised by legislation. A four-year trained girl has to be paid a minimum of $2,500.

Superintendents of Newbury schools had always been male. The common references to the beginning Newbury teachers as "girls" most likely contributed in Newbury (and the rest of Vermont) to the low status and low pay of those working with other teachers in town central schools and those working in the isolation of the rural one room school houses.

CURRICULAR AND EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Between 1915 and 1959, town and school reports in Newbury often mentioned school curriculum, but almost always it was the high school's, not the elementary schools'. Most curricular changes were related to vocational education as the high school continued to search for its proper mission in the town. Since it had once been a private secondary school with a classical curriculum which drew students from a broad geographic area, the public high school had been forced to redefine itself and its purpose in serving the youth of Newbury. This meant discovering a balance between the vocational and the academic, as well as responding to the increasing social aspects of secondary education -- sports and other extra-curricular activities.

In 1929 a two-year commercial course was added in place of a course in agriculture. Ironically, despite its number of farms and its agricultural history, Newbury had a difficult time finding an agriculture teacher. In 1932 the principal said that the purpose of the business course was "to give the boys some

idea of what a business training is." This correlation between a student's sex and the curricular subject was especially strong in this period.

The addition of vocational courses also meant the elimination of what had been traditional academic courses. Thus, in 1933, the principal remarked that

> to make it unnecessary for all freshsmen to take a foreign language or ancient history, both of which are rather difficult, we offered general science and community civics.

While the concepts of student tracking and the differentiated curriculum were not prominently mentioned in superintendent or principal reports until 1960, it is clear that some forms of tracking ("to make it unnecessary for all freshmen") were in place in the early 1930's.

During the mid-1930's while Hitler was gaining power in Germany, and making his attempts to restructure the German educational system, many schools in the United States began to include courses in community civics as well as school activities which focused on citizenship. In 1936, the Newbury High School developed a marking system for school citizenship. That same year, the principal suggested that

> it would seem there should be some form of certificate or diploma which will recognize pupils of good character and citizenship who cannot meet all the requirements in four years.

The evolving mission of public secondary education can be charted through these shifts from the academic to the vocational

to the political -- to the point that specific certificates were awarded to students who did not complete high school, but who demonstrated good character and citizenship.

The primary assessment of the high school's curriculum in this period was simple: the number of graduates continuing their education at college. If the number went up, it justified the academic curriculum; if it went down, there were calls for more vocational education. The principal's 1938 report was typical:

> Records show that of our 42 graduates of the past four years only about 14% enter college. It would seem that our community would be served better if vocational training on different levels, such as agriculture and shop-work, were offered to those students who have no intention of going further in school.

Not surprisingly, in 1940 a course in vocational agriculture was offered to high school boys. In 1941 manual training was added for boys in grades 7 and 8, while home economics was added for girls in grades 10-12. The first mention of adult education occurred in 1942, also related to vocational education:

> . . . there have been two so-called "defense courses" for men out of school. Courses in metal-working and automotive mechanics . . . We shall do all we can to cooperate in the war effort and to put emphasis on the blessings of our democratic way of life.

Increased vocational training for men and the national attention on the war effort and war production permeated the traditional curriculum so that in 1943 the principal noted that:

> We are trying to emphasize those courses which are

considered essential to the war effort, namely: science, mathematics, and the vocational. . . At this time we are encouraged to give physical education a prominent place in the curriculum . . . Military drill is stressed in the national program, but since we have no indoor space, such activity will have to be limited.

Finally, in 1956, since there were now different curricular tracks and students had to decide which track to enter, the high school developed its first guidance program, "so that every student may become familiar with his aptitudes . . . in order that he may choose a vocation for which he is suited."
The school was on its way toward attempting to be a comprehensive high school, even offering driver education the following year, despite the fact that it had only 60 high school students.

CONSOLIDATION

The concern about consolidation during this period was primarily related to the closing of the old rural district schools. From 1910 well into the 1940's there were between eight and ten rural schools in Newbury. By 1950 there were six, and in 1960 there were three. The general trend of in-town consolidation would lead eventually to the emergence of the Town Central School as the only elementary school in town. But the other consolidation trend which began late in this period affected the high school. As early as 1950 (twenty years before the opening of a regional high school), the superintendent noted that

there has been some discussion of uniting Wells River and Newbury high schools. This would make a good size and would probably reduce the pupil cost. Now many small high schools in the state are closing up and scattering their children everywhere.

In 1951, he recommended that further study be made "of an area high school and the union of the two high schools in the Town of Newbury." In 1952 he mentioned the need for increased state aid for an area high school. The effort became official in the 1954 Town Meeting Warning, in Article 5:

> To see if the School District will vote to appropriate the sum of $300 for the use of the Union High School Study Committee, and if so to raise a tax for same.

The significance of the study committee was increased because the school administrators made "no large expenditures" for the rural schools due to the "uncertainty of keeping them open." As the superintendent explained:

> A committee made up of people from Groton, Ryegate, Wells River and Newbury has been making a study of the problem of an area high school for this district. . . If and when the rural schools close, Newbury is going to be faced with the problem of expanding the elementary school. The question of the high school will then be involved.

Clearly there was opposition to a union school (the union of towns representing the towns served by the superintendent). One school director wrote in 1955 (Town Report) that he opposed further participation in the study committee for four reasons:

1. bonded debt would be too large;
2. "what little control we have left in our schools would pass out of our hands";
3. the school would most likely not be favorably located;
4. the proposed union school would still be too small.

In 1958, like many professional educators across the country, the Newbury superintendent used the Russians' successful launching of Sputnik to convince Newbury citizens to support the concept of a union high school:

> Since the launching of a Russian satellite last October, attention has focused even more sharply upon our public school systems . . . as a long range program, your superintendent continues to recommend that Newbury join with neighboring towns in the formation of a union high school district.

Following nearly fifty years of stability with the town system, the end of the 1950's ushered in a period of uncertainty and divisiveness about high school consolidation -- just as the early 1890's had with elementary school consolidation.

THE STATE: DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE BUREAUCRACY (1915-1960)

The Carnegie Survey and the Report of the Commission to Investigate the Educational System and Conditions of Vermont were released in 1914. The following year the current structure of state educational administration was put in place in Vermont. This consisted of a State Board of Education, appointed by the governor, and a Commissioner of Education with a staff to carry

out the policies of the State Board, and union superintendents elected by the State Board and paid by the State. One overt purpose of such centralization was to take any political power away from the towns. As Huden (1943) noted,

> the evils of localism, with its manifold opportunities to cheat the public and the teachers, were unmercifully exposed (by the Carnegie Report)(p. 200).

Mason Stone, the Vermont Commissioner of Education from 1892 to 1900 and from 1905 to 1915 called the new laws an "unwieldy machine and (an) expensive regime" and resigned. Stone agreed with many of the findings of the Carnegie Survey and many of the recommendations of the Commission. The disagreement, according to Huden, was a "difference in viewpoint":

> Mr. Stone had recommended practially all of the improvements except the centralized administration of state educational affairs. . . He believed in local support of school programs. . . Stone said he could not serve under such a bureaucratic arrangement. 'As soon as the bureaucratic law of 1915 went into effect its autocratic features became apparent' . . . 'In body and spirit the new set-up was antithetical to the republican form of government' . . . 'The legitimate child of centralism is paternalism, which is an illegitimate feature of a republican form of government' (pp. 201-203).

With the organization in place, school regulations could now be made.

In 1915 the new State Board of Education granted control and regulation of transportation policies to the local boards --

something local boards had been doing for over twenty years under varying degrees of financial constraint. The State Board also took control of teacher certification that year, eliminated town supervision and initiated union supervision (creating sixty-six state-wide school districts). The State gave up the right to appoint union superintendents in 1919.

One of the major activities of the State between 1920 and 1960 was financial involvement in the schools. For example, the state in 1921 provided a $3-$6 rebate to towns for teachers' salaries if the teachers were receiving at least $10 each week. The State set guidelines for minimum salaries for teachers ($1500 in 1947), and developed a compulsory teacher retirement system in 1947.

The other financial involvement was direct state aid. Between 1933 and 1949 the State followed what was called the MORT plan (based upon equated pupil expenditures). In 1949 a new finance plan based on average daily attendance was followed, and in 1953 the state began to assist local schools with the costs of school construction with the state paying between 25% and 35% of the cost.

In Newbury between 1915 and 1960, the State was mentioned often for its role of grading schools, financing, and providing various services. For example, in 1926 the principal noted that the Town Central School had

> been scored by an official from the State and given a rating of 174, which is 20 points above the necessary rating for a "Standard School" and lacking only 6 points to be a

"Superior School."

In 1927 the Town Central School received the "Superior" rating and Newbury High School was the first high school in the state to be rated "Superior." Ten years later the superintendent noted that the

> State High School Supervisor has rated the high school under the new revised rating plan. Under his rating, in order to keep a sign (of "Superior") on the building . . . the electric lighting will have to be made standard. More points could be secured by raising the average salary for the school.

These were the initial efforts of the State to approve schools in a comprehensive manner. Similar to a traditional classroom of the time, the State graded the school on a variety of measures, and added up the points for a grand total.

In addition to being graded by the State, the Newbury schools used a variety of services offered by the State. The State Helping Teacher, for instance, usually visited Newbury at least once each year to work with teachers on their classroom instruction. These were also the years of the beginning of educational psychology, and the beginnings of standardized tests for children. The 1928 school report described five potential reasons why a pupil would not be making progress in school (i.e. not doing well on the achievement tests):

1. teacher not assigning work suited to the individual;
2. child beyond his depth;
3. child may be of somewhat lower mental capacity -- something which the teacher cannot change;

4. attendance unsatisfactory;

5. physical defects retarding the child.

This list was followed by instructions to parents that they should "investigate these conditions thoroughly if they have any interest in the progress of their children." Thus, it was in the early 1920's that the classification of children, through various assessment tools, created the need for a more bureaucratic school organization since the premise of classification was that children of different abilities required different instruction and curriculum. At this time, of course, this classification did not encompass all children, as the superintendent noted:

> I wish to call attention to the state law which requires parents, who keep children out of school who are mentally or physically unfit, to furnish a doctor's certificate. This is often overlooked.

In 1945, the superintendent noted another state service when he announced the visit of a state psychiatrist who "in addition to exmaining children who are special problems . . . also helps with normal children who have special difficulties." Apparently many parents did not choose to take advantage of this service, however. Three years later, the superintendent had to further explain:

> The belief that children who are referred to a psychiatrist are ready to be committed to an institution is being broken down. Many children can be helped. Parents should apply through the superintendent.

In sum, the Newbury schools were assisted by the State, graded by the State on the State's criteria, and received money from the State. The primary factors leading toward greater centralization included a more bureacratic form of state governance, the development of professional inter-town supervision, the expanding mission of the schools and their diversified curriculum, a belief in the ability to classify students, an ever-present shortage of rural school teachers, and an increased ability to transport students. By 1960 there were but two rural schools left in the town, and there already had been ten years of discussion about forming a union high school.

PERIOD V (1960 - 1988): ORIGINS OF THE UNION SCHOOL SYSTEM

The 1960's witnessed the building of many of Vermont's current regional high schools, and Newbury was no exception. While Oxbow High School opened in neighboring Bradford in 1971 for Bradford and Newbury residents, a local decision in 1960 was a key factor in the transition from the old Newbury High School to the more modern regional high school. This decision was the implementation of a "tracking" system for students at the high school (which in 1960 had 66 students). Principal Hope Kjellerup offered the rationale for the system:

> One of the problems facing the secondary schools of America is the tightening of requirements for admittance to college. A larger proportion of high school graduates desire a college education and the population of young people of college age is increasing yearly. Therefore the colleges

are becoming more and more selective; and thus our college-bound students must work harder than ever before to be accepted by a college. To answer that challenge and to better serve both our college-bound students and those whose education will terminate with high school, Newbury has been able to put its subjects on the so-called track system as recommended by the state and Dr. Conant, in his study of the American High Schools. This has been done partially through electives and partially through making two divisions in classes in required subjects. For an example, we are now alternating biology and general science, enabling the college students to be taught separately from the general. Thus the work may be adapted to the future needs of the pupils.

The concept of adapting coursework "to the future needs of the pupils" implied an ability to predict the future needs (or occupations and aspirations) of high school students. These predictions, in turn, determined in which courses certain students should enroll. In this small rural high school in 1960 there were four different tracks available to students: the college course, the commerical course (secretarial and general office), the vocational course, and the general course about which the principal wrote:

> With other courses available, this course is not recommended except in exceptional cases. Students who take this course simply choose -- with guidance -- from the other courses the subjects which interest them. At the end of four years they receive a high school certificate or diploma with no special

training for college, business, or vocation.

This further classification of students (most often based upon the socio-economic status of students) required the development of a more bureaucratic array of class schedules and course offerings. By promoting the notion that the purpose of schooling was to meet individual student needs, not communal social and political needs, the tracked curriculum finally put to rest some of the original hopes of the common school movement of the mid-1800's. The notion of individual student needs as the paramount gauge of equity and the ultimate function of education eventually bureaucratized even the individual classroom as classified students were taken from regular classrooms either for instruction from specialist teachers, for special education, or for "gifted and talented" enrichment sessions. In fact, the Newbury schools administered tests in cooperation with the Department of Education in 1962 to enable the Department to "identify the academically talented children in Vermont." The bureaucratization of educational administration which developed through the early decades of the 20th Century was followed by the bureaucratization of the classroom which became apparent in Newbury in 1960. Thus, the pattern evolved in which one bureaucracy created conditions favorable to the development of other bureaucracies in their own image: the Carnegie Report (authored by a staff from New York) suggested a centralized, bureaucratic state administration in 1915 for rural Vermont; the state bureaucracy developed an administrative bureaucracy for supervision of Vermont schools; and the regional and state

bureaucracies promoted specialized curricula and instruction for classified groups of students leading to the bureacratization of the classrooms themselves.

The focus on individual student needs continued unabated throughout the 1960's. In 1962 there was the first mention of formal remedial programs "for pupils who were not college material." In 1965 federal funds were used "to pay the salary of a part-time remedial reading teacher and a guidance counselor." The need for guidance counselors was directly related to the bureaucratization of the schools. Someone was needed within the institution to sort students, or to help them sort themselves. In 1968, the promise of individual educational opportunity was used as the primary rationale to build a regional high school (which could offer more specialized programs -- and tracks -- and would require more sorting). The superintendent argued:

> In several years we expect a stronger and more comprehensive educational program . . . designed to afford each individual the option to develop his talents and abilities to the maximum.

And, in an enthusiastic promise, he added:

> But what can we project for the future? Additional financial assistance from Federal and State sources? A kindergarten? Vocational education opportunities? A much broader curriculum for all of the students K-12? Facilities and faculty for individual development in music, art, athletics, public speaking as well as more intensive concentration in English, math, science, etc. All of this -- and more!

Three years later the regional high school opened to meet the individual needs of students.

Concurrent with the increasing emphasis on the relationship between schooling and individualism was the political process at the local and state level promoting the union high school, the closing of Newbury High School, and the closing of the final two rural elementary schools. In 1963 the superintendent reported the introduction of a bill in the Vermont legislature that proposed to "eliminate all local school boards and all local school districts and substitute in their place twelve regional school districts." Newbury would have become a part of the St. Johnsbury Regional District. In contrast to this legislation, the superintendent recommended that the citizens investigate the possibility of working with neighboring towns to form a union school district. His reasons were similar to a state evaluation of Newbury High School in the preceding year: need for a "modern" home economics facility, science laboratory, and an improved gym. In 1964 the principal reported that:

> Because of the State Department's (of Education) interest in the drive for area schools, it might be wise for Newbury to select a study group, especially since Bradford and surrounding towns are investigating the possibility of a really large area high school which could offer much more vocational work than any but the largest schools can do. Newbury has a large group of students who cannot attend college but who could profit by such work.

In 1965, the superintendent reported that the State Board of

Education approved new minimum standards for high schools, and that:

> since meeting these new standards by the local high school would involve building additional classroom space and hiring additional teachers, the action by the state board gave urgency to the work of the study committee which had been formed to study school problems.

The superintendent recommended joining with three northern towns to develop the union school. However, in 1966, the Town of Newbury decided to join with Bradford and work toward the construction of a district high school.

One of the ironies related to the opening of Oxbow High School in 1971 is related to the annual superintendents' reports. As noted earlier, the discussion about a union high school had taken place in Newbury for the preceding twenty years. The increasingly bureaucratic nature of the schools was based upon meeting individual students needs, and thus were developed classification systems, standardized testing, guidance programs, tracked curriculum, and a variety of remedial programs. But just at the point at which Newbury citizens had decided to finance the new regional high school and their children were to reap the rewards of the new educational system -- a centralized elementary school for grades 1 - 6 and a brand new regional high school with one of the state's new area vocational centers for grades 7 - 12, the tone of the superintendent's 1969 report shifted from the promise (and hard sell) of 1968 ("All of this -- and more!") to the following lament:

> As we stagger forward into the '70's, emerging from the

> strifetorn '60's, somewhat battered and disillusioned by changes in dress, conventionalities, and our value structure, we are confronted by a public charge to seriously evaluate our system of teaching our children . . . We deplore student revolts, despise hippie communes and frown upon current dress fads. We are confused by the "drug culture", dismayed by the apparent rejection of God in our lives, and bewildered when our children do not follow us in our footsteps? What to do . . .
>
> We face complex and confusing problems and we turn to the school for the ultimate answers.

In 1971, six months before the new regional high school opened its doors, the superintendent continued:

> The problems of our society weigh heavily on each of us during these chaotic times . . . our villages and towns spill over into each other as the population burgeons . . . God and our country are spat upon and families are split apart by conflicting ideologies . . . wars and rumors of war haunt us and the future looks dark indeed.
>
> Our schools, our system of education, is fundamental to our existence.

Once the modern, more bureaucratic model of schooling was assured (in fact, being built), the superintendent wrote not about individual needs and the educational system's response to those needs, but about community, family, standards, and religion. Instead of optimism about the future, there was fear; instead of reporting about potential promise of meeting individual needs,

there was no mention of individual needs. On the threshold of a new era in Newbury education, the superintendent of 1971 sounded somewhat similar to the superintendent of 1871. They both perceived social problems, but the 19th Century superintendents viewed the schools as mirroring social problems and turned to parents as the ultimate solvers of those social problems. The the 20th Century superintendent -- no matter how dismayed -- viewed the schools as disconnected from social problems, a place to combat those problems on neutral ground, and continued to suggest that "we turn to school for the ultimate answer."

With the opening of Oxbow High School in the Fall of 1971 the last remaining old rural district school in West Newbury closed its doors. For the first time in its 200 year history, all the students of Newbury, up to grade six, attended the same school -- the old Town Central School built on the Newbury Common following the 1913 fire. For the first time in its history, all the students in grades 7 -12 from Newbury were transported south to Bradford to the new Oxbow High School. Newbury was now very much a part of the Orange East Supervisory Union which included one superintendent and his staff for eight towns and ten school boards. The second volume of the Newbury town history noted five reasons for the consolidation of schools, and the loss of the rural schools (History of Newbury, Vermont, 1978):

1. high cost for few number of students
2. shorter time on the bus
3. smaller families
4. decrease in the number of farms
5. difficulty in finding teachers for rural schools.

Whatever the reasons to which people were willing to subscribe, it is clear that 1971 was a turning point in the town's history and that a dramatic transformation had concluded with the passing from the twenty-one school districts of the late 1800's to the consolidation of one K-6 school in Newbury Village.

From 1971 through 1988 the organization of schooling for Newbury children remained relatively constant, while the internal structures of the schools continued to become more bureaucratic based upon the political argument of equity and the schools meeting individual needs. Not only did the curriculum and the programs for students become more specialized (as did the faculty), but the annual school report became more bureaucratic. The budget pages in the report became more difficult to comprehend (since all were written according to budget codes) and the local citizen had a difficult time understanding what specific costs were. More than the curriculum and the annual report were becoming complex. In the mid-1970's the Report of the School Directors for Oxbow High School acknowledged that:

> it becomes increasingly necessary to employ lawyers, consultants, arbitrators and other experts. . . This year an undue amount of time (eleven months) has been spent in contract negotiations, which have yet to be concluded.

Perhaps these compexities and the exaggerated promises of the modern union high school led the authors of Newbury's second town history to write in 1977, six years after the opening of Oxbow High School:

> The education at Oxbow is not discussed here, because as is

the case of all schools and especially those costing taxpayers a great deal of money, there is a great difference of opinion (p. 101).

In 1982 the Newbury District Report was the first in history which contained no report from the Board, the Superintendent, or the principal; it was entirely budget numbers. In 1983, the Board report addressed energy conservation, transportation, and settlement of a legal dispute with a roof contractor. The Superintendent's report addressed increasing fringe benefit costs. In 1984 the district school report contained a report "from the administration" -- not from either the superintendent or the principal. It is important to note that during the 1970's and early 1980's, there was double-digit inflation that compounded the already-increasing costs of public education (not just for the physical plant, but also for salaries and fringe benefits for teacher and administrators). The printed school reports during these years were preoccupied with budgetary concerns.

Two other trends increased the bureaucratization of the schools: one was the development of tracked curriculum at the high school, and the second was the increasing state involvement -- not in school administration and/or organization -- but in curriculum and student learning.

THE TRACKED CURRICULUM

The opening of Oxbow High School in 1971 also witnessed the opening of the Oxbow Vocational Center located in the south wing

of the new high school building. With the building of the sixteen vocational centers around Vermont, state policymakers had determined that applied job-training, primarily for 13 to 18 year olds not interested in the academic curriculum, was an essential part of the public school mission. Vocational programs enrolled students for half-a-day at the center for their junior and senior years -- often leaving them to enroll in English and perhaps one other subject at the high school for the remainder of the day. In 1971 there was also the introduction of cooperative vocational education where students (mostly boys) were given credit for working for employers in the region. The vocational centers played a significant role in the sorting of students in the high school and providing a place for students not interested in the academic program of the school. In fact, vocational education was central to the grouping and tracking of students at the high school. Despite the appearance of an elective system of courses, students (either individually, with cohorts, parents, teachers or guidance counselors) selected into themselves into traditional patterns of course enrollments, resulting in distinct groupings of students in pre-collegiate, basic, remedial, and vocational tracks (Gamoran and Berends, 1987). While consolidation into one larger, more modern high school brought the students physically together into one building, consolidation did not bring students together to learn. The operations of the regional high school were really the operations of numerous mini-schools within the building, each with their own population, standards, and sub-culture. Continued broad-based public support was premised upon the school's ability to meet (or appear to meet) individual

students' needs. Thus, as the new high school was designed, and as it developed, the sorting of students according to perceived needs (and/or wants) required a more subtle and sophisticated bureaucratic organization.

As the availability of federal funds increased, more positions were added at the schools throughout the mid-seventies. Title I funds were used to develop a remedial program and a pre-school program, as well as to hire a speech therapist and a consulting teacher. Also, the 1970's saw the beginning of more assertive federal involvement in special education. In fact, the supervisory union employed a full-time administrator whose title was "federal programs coordinator." But while the federal support for education increased in the 1970's, and declined in the 1980's, state involvement in education increased in the 1970's, and then increased more rapidly in the 1980's. As the old town high schools gave way to regional high schools, and as the new vocational schools were built (generally attached to a new regional high school), the construction boom of the late 1960's and the early 1970's gave way to concerns about student basic skills and the learning taking place in those buildings.

THE STATE: CENTRALIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY (1966-1988)

In 1964 the State strengthened previous high school standards (those of 1954) by increasing graduation requirements, and mandating science labs, libraries (with librarians), a guidance counselor, and more (Lengel, 1983). These standards reinforced the trend of consolidation of smaller high schools, creating

larger union high schools and the more segmented ("tracked") curriculum of such schools.

In the mid-1960's the Department of Education doubled its staff to 138 employees to administer the complex array of federal funds for Vermont education. With many new specialized programs starting in these years, "a legislator identified 135 separate projects that the Department was pursuing" (Lengel, 1986). State statute in 1965 created the vocational education system as we know it today, and in 1968 the General Assembly mandated state and local responsibility for the education of children with handicapping conditions (anticipating in many ways the future federal legislation, PL 94-142).

The modern argument that schools should meet individual student needs is most apparent in the development of special education legislation and practices. This legislation was a reaction to the broad-based disregard of individuals (young and old alike) with handicapping conditions. As noted earlier, for much of the history of Newbury schools, young people with handicapping conditions were expected to remain at home. As state and federal law required school districts (and parents) to provide appropriate education to these youngsters, elaborate bureaucratic and legalistic systems were designed to protect the rights of these students. In fact, what is mentioned in the Newbury school reports are often not the students, but the systems:

> Each year (1978) seems to place additional responsibilities on the school. There are two which will have an impact on

> our district: Basic Competencies and PL 94-142 . . . To meet these needs will require additional testing, record keeping, individualized programs, specialists, and money (Report of the Oxbow High School Board of Directors for 1977-1978).

Meyer (1986) described some of these organizational effects of special education and noted:

> Increasingly, the causal chains managed by the federal myth of education are ending, not in real educational outcomes, but in easily ritualizable structures. They do not require that the treated pupil learn something, or even be treated in a specific educational process; they require that the pupil be located in the proper category, subjected to teachers with proper certificates, and so on. The causal chains of the new myths, thus, end where educational order has always ended up, in stabilized ritual categories (p. 256).

In the 1977 School District Report, the administrators reported that

> the staff has taken part in preparing to implement the State Board of Education approved Basic Competencies. This involvement has included field testing of various competencies as well as preparing a district-wide implementation plan.

In that same year the high school principal reported that

> we have addressed ourselves to the call for basics with several new programs.

In 1978, the administrators reported that

during the year a great deal of emphasis was placed on the Basic Competency Program. It appears that most students have achieved the appropriate basic competency.

For the next two years there were brief references to the Basic Competency Program, but there were none after 1980 even though the program remains in existence to this day. This program was the most specific state involvement to date in curriculum and student assessment. The competencies were intended to assess students' basic skills (such as writing, computation, speaking) as they evidences themselves under various conditions (i.e. writing a business letter, answering the telephone, returning the proper amount of change). Schools developed new internal bureaucratic procedures to track each student's performance on each competency and report these to the state. Teachers functioned as service providers to the state, implementing the assessment procedure, assessing the student performance, recording the assessment and reporting it to the school administration.

The second major state involvement in curriculum occurred with the State Board of Education's adoption of the Public School Approval Standards in 1985. These standards were applicable to all public schools and contained regulations about each curricular subject, school leadership, facilities, staff development, general academic and graduation requirements, school climate, and more. Each school was to prepare a self-assessment to compare its operations with the standards, and then a state-appointed visiting team would review the self-assessment and

visit the school. Then they issued their evaluation report recommending whether the school should be approved. The administration report of 1985 noted that

> beginning with the start of the 1987/1988 academic year, Newbury Elementary, along with all other schools in Vermont, will have to be in compliance with the Vermont School Approval Standards . . . the overriding goal of these standards is to provide equitable educational opportunities for all children in the state . . .
>
> Some of the standards may impose major changes -- and in some cases major expenditures -- upon Newbury Elementary:
>
> 1. provision of science stations;
> 2. ventilation of science stations;
> 3. computer curriculum;
> 4. full guidance services;
> 5. drug and alcohol education, and more.

As the state directed curriculum to the school districts, it was not surprising that the next major state policy initiative for the late 1980's and early 1990's was student assesssment. Where once the parents, then the teacher, then the district developed curriculum, it is now more directly influenced by the state. Where once parents, teachers, or local administrators evaluated student performance, the state is attempting to more directly influence student assessment. These influences take place (as did basic competencies) when the state intervenes in the student/teacher relationship and directs the teacher's behavior to interact with the student in a particular way.

It should be noted that in 1968 the new Commissioner of

Education Harvey Scribner developed the "Vermont Design for Education" which was targetted at the state's elementary schools. This was a policy initiative unlike previous state policy. It was considered a state/local partnership with the emphasis on the local. The Design included seventeen "premises" about Vermont education, a few of which are listed below:

1. The emphasis must be upon learning, rather than teaching.
2. Education should strive to maintain the individuality and originality of the learner.
3. Schools should be compatible with reality. Learning which is compartmentalized into artificial subject fields by teachers and administrators is contrary to what is know about the learning process.

The premises for the Vermont Design provided the basis for a community-wide assessment of the elementary school(s), followed by the development of recommendations to meet locally-developed goals for the school. The radical nature of this state-sponsored policy was evident in the final page of the Design informational brochure:

> It should be emphasized that acceptance of this philosophy and its implementation must be voluntary if there are to be improved learning opportunities in schools. No amount of legislation or administrative mandate will provide beneficial and permanent educational changes for students. However, for those systems and teachers interested in implementing appropriate program changes, there should be available financial and professional assistance. Such

assistance can be provided by the various educational agencies cooperatively coordinating resources to this end (Vermont Department of Education, 1971).

Scribner's initiative yielded success in some towns, inaction in others. In view of prior and subsequent state legislation and regulation, the Vermont Design for Education occurred at a time of increasing state centralization and local consolidation. It was a short-lived opportunity for local involvement in directly influencing local schools.

CONCLUSION

The trends of Vermont public education, as evidenced through the history of the Newbury schools, have been toward more bureaucracy, consolidation, student classification, curricular differentiation (tracking), and state influence. The role of the community has diminshed (except in financing schools in which the local property tax continues to be the major funding source for schools in Vermont).

The withdrawal of education as a communal function is evident in Newbury through the analysis of town meeting. In Newbury, there have been annual town meetings since 1764. What has been the role of discussions and/or votes at these town meetings?

1764 -- 1895 One town meeting; occasional school reports; information only about each school. No votes (district system still in effect).

1895 -- 1938 One town meeting; one published report with

section on school costs and questions.

1939 -- 1965 One town meeting; one published report with two warnings in the report -- one for the town and one for the school.

1966 -- 1969 Two meetings: regular town meeting and a separate school meeting. One published report with section for town and section for school.

1970 Three meetings: regular town meeting, school district meeting (for elementary school), and union high school district meeting.
Two publications: town report and school report.

1971 -- Three meetings: regular town meeting, school district meeting, union high school district meeting. Three publications: town, town school district, union high school district.

The increase in the number of meetings, and separation of school meetings from town meetings, has developed concurrently with the expansion of the presentation of financial accounts in the school reports. The increase in the state bureaucracy, the local school bureaucracy, and the classification of students within schools is mirrored in the specialization (or fragmentation) of the meetings and the printed school reports, both of which have become increasingly technical as the decades have passed.

DeYoung (1987) noted that "almost two thirds of all school districts, half of all public schools, and one third of

practicing classroom teachers are currently located in rural areas of the United States" (p. 123). The interaction of the Newbury school system with the State of Vermont, in one of the most rural states in the country, illustrates that the major policy initiatives have been what Sher (1977) has called "urbanizing reforms, such as consolidation and standardization (which) have not produced poor results because they were good ideas badly implemented, but rather because they were bad ideas successfully implemented" (p. 273).

Sher described five guidelines upon which to develop rural education reform:

1. The primacy of local circumstance must be respected. . .
2. The linkages between school and community must be expanded and the bonds between them strengthened . . .
3. The balance between outside regulation and local control must be made more equitable. . .
4. Structural reforms and substantive reforms must be treated as separate and distinct issues. . .
5. Reform efforts must capitalize upon the strengths, as well as correct the deficiencies, of rural schools (Sher, 1977, pp. 274-276).

The reforms generated for most of Vermont's history have distanced schools from their communities, have been based upon urban models of schooling (most evidently the Carnegie Report reforms of 1914), and have sought to replace the Jeffersonian purpose of education with the human capital purpose of education (Strike, 1985). Reforms initiated by the State of Vermont and implemented in the Newbury school system have not just been

insensitive to the guidelines suggested by Sher. These reforms have reinforced the economic (human capital) function of schooling through the professionalization of administration, tracking of students, and disengagement from the community. This bureaucratic organization of schooling precludes an organization of schooling based upon the Jeffersonian ideal which seeks "to achieve the level of education for everyone that guarantees access to a meaningful participation in the fundamental political institution of a democratic society" (Strike, 1985, p. 414). Given this perspective, it is not surprising that local communities no longer affect state educational policy or that the state continues to initiate policies under the heading of "educational reform" which further bureaucratize schools.

APPENDIX A

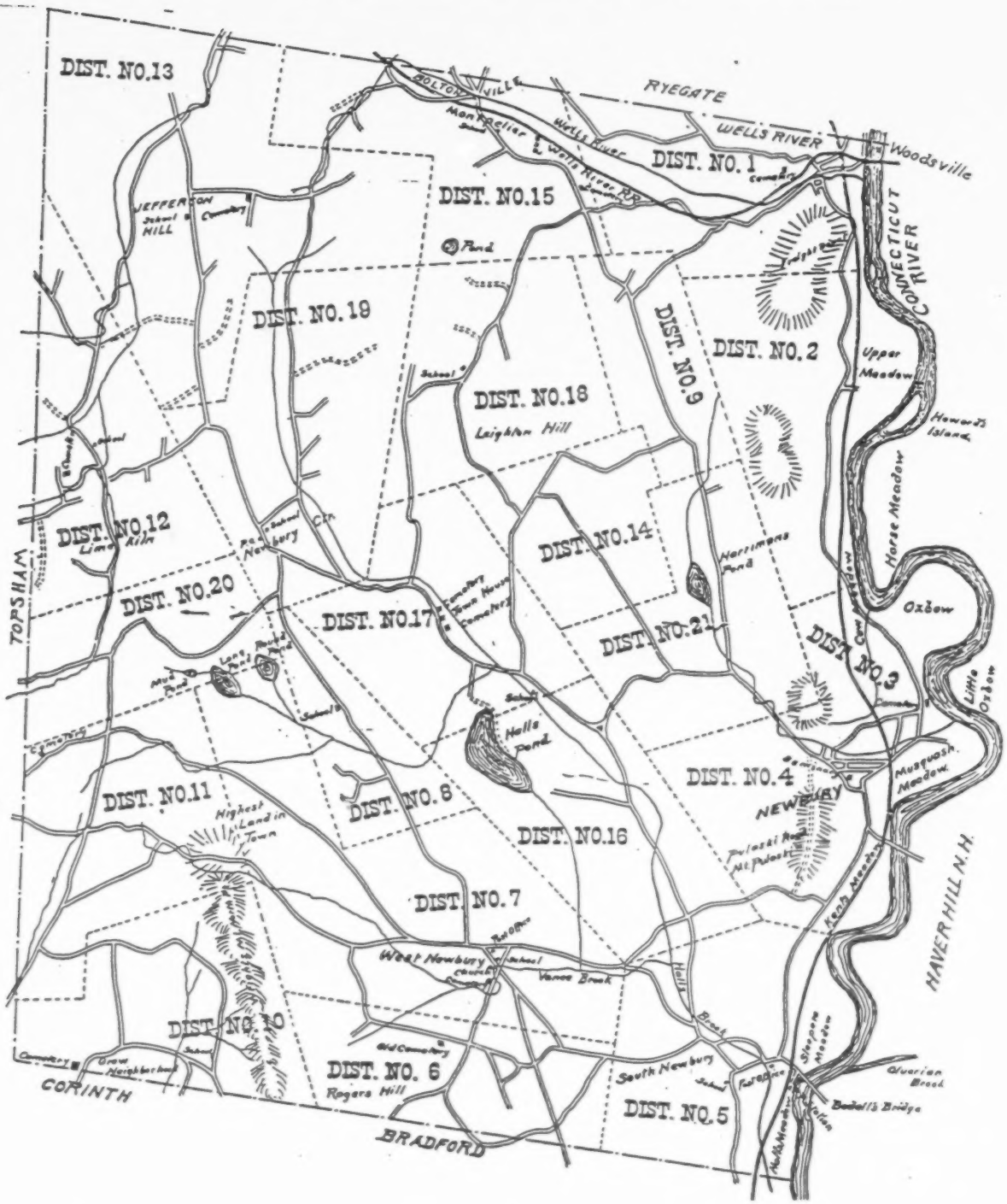
Population of Vermont, 1791 - 1980

YEAR	VERMONT	ORANGE COUNTRY	NEWBURY
1791	85,341	7,351	872
1800	154,395	16,324	1,304
1810	217,913	21,724	1,363
1820	236,433	25,277	1,623
1830	280,685	27,285	2,252
1840	291,948	27,873	2,578
1850	314,120	27,296	2,984
1860	315,098	25,455	2,549
1870	329,760	23,090	2,241
1880	332,286	23,525	2,316
1890	332,407	19,575	2,080
1900	343,641	19,313	2,125
1910	355,956	18,703	2,035
1920	352,428	17,279	1,908
1930	359,910	16,694	1,744
1940	359,231	17,048	1,723
1950	377,747	17,027	1,667
1960	389,881	16,014	1,452
1970	444,732	17,676	1,440
1980	511,456	22,739	1,669

Source: Arnold, T. (1980). Two hundred years and counting: Vermont community census totals: 1791-1980. Burlington, Vermont: Center for Rural Studies.

APPENDIX B

School Districts in Newbury, Vermont, in 1888



Source: Wells, F.P. (1902). History of Newbury, Vermont. St. Johnsbury, Vermont: The Caledonian Company.

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